

September 9, 1962 (11)

GUEST: Paul H. Nitze, Assistant Secretary of State for International Security Affairs

PANEL: Bob Clark and John Scali, ABC Correspondents

QUESTION: . . . The Chinese Nationalist Government has just confirmed that one of its U-2 planes is missing over Communist China. Can you tell us when and why the United States turned over U-2's to the Nationalist Air Force?

MR. NITZE: The agencies of the United States government have made a very careful investigation of this point and I believe the State Department has just issued a statement in which they have said that the Lockheed Aircraft Company entered into direct negotiations with the Chinese Nationalists in 1960 for the sale of two U-2's to the Chinese Nationalists. An export license was issued to cover the export of these two U-2's.

QUESTION: Was the plane Chinese Nationalist or was it American?

MR. NITZE: It was a Chinese Nationalist plane. The United States does not fly planes over Communist China.

QUESTION: Isn't this new incident going to embarrass the United States pretty badly since we have made so much of the fact that we are not flying U-2's over the Soviet and Communist China ourselves?

MR. NITZE: Well, it is not a happy event.

QUESTION: . . . could you tell us . . . whether we were aware that the Chinese Nationalists were flying U-2's over Communist territory?

MR. NITZE: This I can't comment on.

QUESTION: Have we given U-2's to any allies other than Nationalist China?

MR. NITZE: I can't comment on that either. The State Department . . . must comment on an affair of this kind.

QUESTION: . . . Do you have any reason to believe, regardless of U-2, whether the Chinese have Soviet surface-to-air missiles that can go up sixty to seventy thousand feet, wherever the U-2 was flying?

MR. NITZE: Well, I presume they must have some surface to air missiles. *** I think the United States has grounds for being concerned about the military assistance which the Soviet Union is giving to Cuba. This has been going on for a long period of time. But in recent weeks we have received evidence that the Soviet Union has supplied Cuba with surface-to-air missiles. These are defensive missiles, anti-aircraft missiles, and also torpedo boats with missiles of a range of 15 miles, and I think we have grounds for concern about this, even though what they have supplied so far is purely defensive.

QUESTION: Do you mean concern about the possibility of a Communist offensive that would endanger the security of the United States?

MR. NITZE: No, I think the grounds for concern are first of all that this assistance the Soviets are giving Castro makes it more difficult for the Cuban people ever to restore their freedom; and secondly, this helps Castro consolidate his position in Cuba and thereby might increase the possibility that Cuba could be used as a base for Communist infiltration into the rest of the hemisphere.

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QUESTION: Well, whether this is correct or not, don't you think there is a valid fear in the Russian mind of our military bases ringing the Soviet?

MR. NITZE: No, I think this really springs from what the Communists know to be their own policy. The Communists have made it perfectly clear that they consider that eventually there must come about the triumph of the Communist system worldwide. This is what their doctrine tells them and they consider themselves duty-bound to use all their resources including these supports, to bring about that worldwide triumph.

Now when they know that this is their policy, that this is what they are going to do, then they consider that anybody who will not cooperate in that policy is a threat to the peace. Therefore they use the term "peace" as meaning really a world dominated by Communism. They use the phrase "peaceful coexistence" as meaning those who will cooperate in bringing about that kind of a world. They use the word "war monger" as being someone who will stand firm in defense of a system of government of his own choice.

QUESTION: ...speaking of Soviet weapons, there are reports out of Germany to the effect that the Soviets have lined the air corridors leading to Berlin with anti-aircraft missiles. Are these reports true?

MR. NITZE: I think they are exaggerated, but it is true that they do have anti-aircraft missiles and they have had for some time, in the corridors through which Western planes fly, the air corridors into Berlin.

QUESTION: Has there been any increase of late?

MR. NITZE: I think there has been an increase. I think not as substantial as some of the reports have indicated.

QUESTION: Do you agree with the growing view that the Soviet is pushing Berlin toward a new crisis, that Khrushchev is finally ready to sign his long-delayed peace treaty with East Germany?

MR. NITZE: This is a very dangerous situation in Berlin. The Communist tactics have been those "bit by bit, piece by piece" narrowing the margin between what has existed in the past and the vital interests of the West in maintaining the freedom of Berlin. So that any further pressure by them can really impinge upon the vital interests of the West and therefore it is extremely dangerous if they go further.

Now a peace treaty in itself is not important. The Russians once before signed a peace treaty with the East German government, but this time, in view of all that has gone on in the last two years, it may be that Mr. Khrushchev would think that he couldn't just sign a peace treaty, but that that peace treaty would then have to be followed by action and what I say then is that any further encroachment would, I believe, impinge or run the risk of impinging upon the vital interests of the West and the West has taken the firmest commitments to maintain those vital interests.

QUESTION: You sound as if you regard the Berlin situation today as more critical than it was a year ago when the wall went up. Do you?

MR. NITZE: In a way, I do.

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QUESTION: Do you think that the odds are that Mr. Khrushchev, after having threatened to sign the peace treaty for so long, is almost certain to sign one this fall, or this winter?

MR. NITZE: I wouldn't go that far.

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QUESTION: You have spoken of the Soviet plan or strategy of trying to whittle down our rights in West Berlin.

Do you think that by using armored cars, for example, to carry their guards to the Soviet memorial in the Western zone... that the Soviets are seeking to assert an occupation role which they have not had previously in the Western zone?

MR. NITZE: Well, I think it might be useful to go back to the history of this occupation regime. In 1945 the four-power allied commandatura was set up which was to occupy Berlin until a peace treaty, and each one of the nations, Russia, France, the U.S. and U.K., had control over one sector of Berlin, but pursuant to a policy which was to be decided by the four together. But in '48 the Russians withdrew from the four-power commandatura and since that time the Western commanders have had no authority whatsoever in the East sector of Berlin.

Now what the Russians are trying to do is to maintain Russian presence in West Berlin and to equate that with the Western access to West Berlin by the corridor and the air routes feeling that they would cut us off from any influence over the Eastern sector, and this is something that we do not propose to have equated.

QUESTION: If the Berlin situation is as critical as you picture it, wouldn't it be wise to delay the release of some of the Reserves called up last year, or, in fairness to them, immediately call into active service some of the new Reserves that the President now wants authority to call into service?

MR. NITZE: No. As I said earlier, last year when this crisis arose, it looked quite probable that it would be not a short-term crisis but a long-term period of tension and that therefore what we should do was both to increase our immediate strength by calling up the Reserves, but under that cover of an increase of immediate strength to build long-term strength which wouldn't face us with the necessity of calling up reserves and then releasing them. So to the extent that we can we would like to rely upon this increase in our combat-ready forces to handle these crises.

QUESTION: Part of the present crisis in West Berlin... stems from the fact that the Soviets are continuing to use their armored cars to carry their peaceful guards to this Soviet war memorial. Now that tensions have abated somewhat... why don't we tell them "Get back into the busses that you formerly used"?

MR. NITZE: I should think it would be appropriate if the Soviet Union did use busses rather than armored cars.

QUESTION: Are we going to suggest that they do so?

MR. NITZE: I wouldn't like to predict exactly what we are going to do.

QUESTION: We have talked for many months about taking the initiative in Berlin and yet we still seem to be reacting chiefly to moves that the Soviet makes. Can you think of any positive move we could take in Berlin to get the Berlin problem off dead center?

MR. NITZE: I am not aware of these words about taking the initiative in Berlin. I thought "taking the initiative" came from another Administration.

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In the Berlin situation there it is the Soviet Union that is claiming that Berlin is a source of tension and of danger to the world and they are the ones who are creating the incidents in order to justify their claim. And we have been trying to demonstrate what I believe to be the truth and that is that Berlin is not necessarily a source of tension. It has been possible over the years to live with this situation in Berlin and therefore we do not want to take the initiative to increase tension. We want to do the reverse, and that is to demonstrate that the Berlin situation could be a situation with viability except for what the Soviets are doing. And this I think we are demonstrating in Berlin and therefore the intelligent course for us to do is exactly what we are doing and not to take initiatives for initiatives' sake.

QUESTION: . . . You think that time is on our side in the Berlin crisis?

MR. NITZE: That is a somewhat different question, but basically I do think that.

QUESTION: . . . the Administration has made the point I think that, partly as a result of calling up more troops in the regular Army, and mobilizing Reserves, that we have convinced Mr. Khrushchev that we will fight to defend Berlin.

Do you agree that this message has gotten home to the Kremlin?

MR. NITZE: I think it has...we haven't only increased the combat power and numbers of our ready divisions and the related mobility in aircraft and munitions, but we have also taken very important steps with respect to strengthening our nuclear power.

We did double the rate of production of the Polaris submarine. We did put in this big production program for the Minuteman. We have put in very extensive warning and alarm systems. We have perfected the control of these systems. We have put at least 50 percent of the B-52's on alert, a 15-minute alert, an airborne alert. The power of our nuclear forces is much greater than it was two years ago, or even a year ago, and I think this has also contributed to impressing Mr. Khrushchev with the dangers he would face, if he impinged upon Western vital interests.

QUESTION: . . . Russia has just exploded its tenth nuclear shot in the atmosphere. From what we have been able to learn since it launched this nuclear series, do we detect any more breakthrough or gain in this field?

MR. NITZE: Not that I am aware of.

QUESTION: . . . Do you mean to imply any defense of Berlin would have to be a nuclear defense?

MR. NITZE: I did not mean to imply that, but I did mean to imply that all the factors of force and strength are inter-related and Khrushchev must see that.

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PROJECT SHAKEDOWN is being conducted by Armed Forces and Defense Supply Agency to improve inter-Service use of aeronautical material. It's part of Defense Cataloging and Standardization Programs. During first 6 months of '62, there was net increase 357 items in Catalog System, with 363,767 and 235,410 deleted. Gross total is 4,159,519. The deletions: 21 line items as Marinet agreed "not in use" instead of their Landing Force

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ARMY NAVY AIR FORCE JOURNAL &
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ARMY WANTS MORE AUTHORITY to deal directly with industry in R&D and procurement of aircraft. Navy and AF have fulfilled major responsibilities in past. In aircraft test area, Army has arranged for Federal Aviation Agency—not AF or Navy—to conduct flight trials for new light observation helicopter. (J&R issue of 15 September will feature report on AGM. David B. Parker's Transformation Materiel)